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men who had obtained eagle feathers,[96] and in later times the Seminole of Florida honored in this way one who had killed a certain number of deer.

Moreover, germs of what might be called higher schools of education had come into existence. These were in the care of those men who, in agreement with the usage of ethnologists, would be called medicine men, but there were at least two classes of men to which the title would have to be applied, the healer (aliktca or hilis haya), one of whom officiated at every busk, and the knower (kila), who was a kind of soothsayer or prophet, and in his medical capacity a diagnostician. The first class communicated their knowledge to novices for a certain consideration. They would take from one to four pupils at a time, have them go through a preparation of fasting and sweat bathing somewhere away from the village and then inculcate their mysteries. These mysteries were communicated in courses. The first time the novices would bathe and fast for 4 days on a stretch, the next time for 8 days, and finally for 12 days. The completion of this last was equivalent to the taking of a very high degree and people who had attained it were very much respected. A more particular account of this will be given when we come to speak of Creek medical practice. Jackson Lewis, from whom much of this information comes and who had himself taken two degrees, stated that those who were chosen to conduct war parties came from this class, only that they must be from one of the Red clans, but it is possible that he is speaking of the medicine man who accompanied the party in his professional capacity, not of the actual leader of the party. I have been told that there were also graduates in the telling of myths, and some claimed the powers of wizards, such as an ability to fly, roast the hands in the fire, etc., "by a word." A red line painted from each corner of the mouth indicated that the individual so decorated wanted to play ball, that he was well up in the mysteries and a powerful man generally. These graduates, of whom there were several in each town, were evidently the repositories of learning, the keepers of the sacred myths, the historians, and the guardians of the supernatural mysteries.

The Tukabahchee chief, like many another Indian and white man before and since, thus laments to Hitchcock over the increasing insubordination of the rising generation:

"Young people are not so orderly and obedient to the old people now as they used to be in the old nation. When we tell them to do anything they seem to stop and think about it. Formerly they always went at once and did as they were told; that is, before they came to this country."[97]

[96] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 30.

[97] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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596 539 to the end, so he says. I propose to provide some amusement for our women, so he says. So I enjoin upon our women that they promptly take their places; and as they understand the custom of our forebears, they are asked to carry them out on this occasion, so he says.

796 During the busk names and titles different from those ordinarily used were employed. The women were called Hŏmpita haya ("food preparers"), or Tcukole'idji ("having a house"). This last term is said to have been extended also to the children—that is, it included all of those who remained in the houses instead of going to war or the chase. According to Cook it was applied in Tukabahchee only to the four women who acted as leaders in the women's dance. It was very bad form to refer to a woman or to women by the common terms. In important speeches the people of the Raccoon clan often said "I am of the Shawanogis," and this term also extended to related clans like the Potato and Fox. This applied particularly to Tukabahchee and was based on the close friendship between the Tukabahchee and the Shawnee. According to Alindja, one of the best Tukabahchee authorities, it was extended really to the whole of Tukabahchee town, the term Tciloki bringing about a separation. The Raccoon clan at Tukabahchee also called themselves Isti mikâgi doiyât ("chiefs that we are") or isti tcilokogi doiyât ("Tcilokis that we are"). The towns often had particular busk names. The Abihka would be known as Abihka nâgi, the Coweta as Kawita mahma'ya, the Kasihta as Kasihta łâko. The Okchai called themselves by that name and the almost as common term Łâlogâlga. The Okfuskee and Tulsa people called themselves Kos i'stâgi ("people of Coosa"). The Pâkân tallahassee used the word Pâkana.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

General Remarks

756 Just as among the beings and objects in nature there were certain which possessed or acquired exceptional supernatural powers, so there were certain men who were possessed of such power or were mediums for its expression. They were also versed in the powers possessed by other created things and hence were partly prophets or soothsayers and partly doctors, while some of them occupied official or semiofficial positions and became priests.

Both men and women could be doctors. Swan, in fact, states that women were employed more frequently than men.[85] If this means that the female doctors were more numerous than the male he is probably incorrect, since very little is said of female doctors by anyone else, and I have heard little about them personally. Perhaps Swan had reference in part to the common practitioners,

[85] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.

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persons who did not assume to have much supernatural power but were none the less acquainted with remedies and were called in in cases of minor importance. It is likely that such persons existed in almost every large family group and probably they were more often women than men. The old women were naturally the midwives. As with us there were home remedies known to almost every one, still others known only to certain of the old people, and finally medicines and medical processes which were the sole property of the various grades of shamans.

THE "KNOWERS"

The principal individuals who combined medical and priestly functions were the kĭlas or "knowers," usually called by the whites "prophets," and the priests or doctors proper, known as alektca, or medicine makers, hilis-haya. There were only a few of the former and they are said always to have been men, but the second were more numerous, and had more to do directly with healing. While the kĭla might also be a good doctor his work in that line was generally confined to a determination of the kind of disease with which the sick person was afflicted.[a] He might best be described as the diagnostician, though his diagnosis consisted merely in the examination of an article of clothing belonging to the sick man. From this he claimed to be able to determine the nature of the disorder and he sent back word accordingly. Of course, many doctors, partly from having seen so many cases diagnosed by the kĭla, would be so expert that they would not ordinarily need to refer to him. The kĭla was something of a clairvoyant and probably a juggler also, and about this class many wonderful tales are told. It was thought that the younger of twins was likely to make an efficient kĭla. Natchez and Cherokee informants stated that twins would be prophets until they were 8 or 10 years old, when the gift would leave them, but if they were carefully watched they would become prophets when they grew up. My Cherokee interpreter had a brother and sister who were twins. His father, a man often outlawed, said that they frequently warned him of impending trouble. It was thought that triplets might know still more. In one case triplets told their father, who had been acquitted several times before the courts, that the next time he would be hung, and in consequence he took good care to keep out of trouble. It was the kĭla who learned events from birds as narrated on page 496. He could foretell death, sickness, or crime, and in the last case he would sometimes send his dogs to punish the offenders.

[a] The people of Tukabahchee and neighboring towns believed that Magillis Hadje [mike hilis hadje?], the prophet of Tukabahchee, met by Hitchcock in 1843, had control over the elements and could make the weather pleasant or disagreeable. They thought he could see into the future and predict events, and in cases of sickness he was frequently called upon to divine and to define the cause.—Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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THE "FASTERS" OR DOCTORS

The doctors or priests—at least a great majority of them—belonged to a class of learned men called isti poskálgi ("fasting men"), already referred to, who had received their training in certain schools of higher learning, if we may so denominate them. This training was called by the same name, pŏskita, "to fast," as that given to the great town ceremonial, because in both fasting was an essential element. It was generally undertaken in summer when a person can lie out of doors comfortably and proceeds about as follows, according to Jackson Lewis, who had taken five courses in this aboriginal college. From one to four young men—Lewis did not remember parties of more than four—would go into the town and engage some old Indian who was known to have passed through the course and was prepared to teach them. Then all repaired together to a stream of water, usually a densely wooded creek bottom where they were not likely to be observed. As a further protection they threw together boughs so as to screen themselves still more completely, for during their stay there they did not want to be so much as seen. The "red root," miko hoyanĭdja, was dug by each candidate, pounded up and put into a pot already provided, and the pot filled with water. Then the instructor came in and blew into the medicine through a cane. After blowing into it and singing over it he went away. This was supposed to give the medicine virtue. Then the novice drank great quantities of medicine at intervals of an hour or more, so arranging it that by noon he would have taken it four separate times. At noon the instructor came back and then began to tell the novice either by words or songs some of the most elementary things he had to learn. After talking for some time he went away. When the sun was just above the western horizon he came back and gave more instruction and left the man in the woods again.

The first thing that would be taught was how to treat gunshot wounds. There were three ways of treating these: (1) For flesh wounds, (2) for bowel wounds, (3) for head wounds. The instructor would tell what to do and what songs to sing in order to give virtue to the medicine they made for the wounds. Then the instructor said, "You sing this. Sing it as I have sung it to you." Sometimes these are merely recited formulas. When the novice had repeated as best he could what the instructor had told him the instructor criticized, and corrected him where he had made mistakes. Then he instructed him again and said, "Now go over it as I have." He did not stop because his pupil had repeated it correctly once but made him go over it often later, because unless it was gone over in just such a manner it would not be effective when used. After this

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756 he would teach the novice the proper treatment for any disease that the latter might desire to learn about. This instruction was continued for four successive days. Then the novice stopped because the teacher thought it better for him to think these things over and repeat them to himself for a while before learning more. After a month or two, during which the novice went back to the town, he could return to the woods and take another course. There were only slight variations between the methods of instruction of different teachers. Few ever took a complete course. After the fifth or sixth 4-day period one could ask the teacher to put him through the 8-day session, and after that he could ask the teacher to put him through the 12-day session, which was the last. There were very few teachers because very few had passed through the 12-day course. This instruction seems to have required fasting and isolation from noise because nothing was written and everything must be imprinted on the mind. Noises would disturb the process. After the first 4-day session had been gone through a blanket was thrown about the novice and water was poured upon hot stones inside of this until steam was raised, and after the novice was thoroughly steamed he went to bathe in a cold creek. Then he went home feeling very hungry but unable to eat much because his stomach was drawn up from fasting and the frequent taking of the red root emetic. None of the other tribes with which Lewis was acquainted had anything similar to this. After the education had been completed the old teacher would dig a trench in the ground, put a cane in the novice's mouth so that he might breathe through it, cover him with earth, put leaves over all, and set fire to them. Then he would order the novice to get up and, having done so, he was ready for any emergency in life. Lewis knew of many who had not gone as far as he but pretended to be proficient in all branches. One who had gone as far as himself was entitled to embellish his headdress with a feather of the horned owl, "which many fellows who actually know little wear to-day." It also entitled him to wear a buzzard feather, the insignia of the man able to treat gunshot wounds. Lewis once cured his son, who had been shot through the breast so that the air seemed to be coming out of the vent. The buzzard's feather was used because that feather was employed in cleaning out the wound before treating it. Lewis could appropriately wear a fox's skin, because he could cure a snake bite. These insignia ought to be worn only when a body of people is going to war or is collected on account of some danger. They served to single out the persons who were to be approached in case of trouble. If you find an Indian with a streak of red paint in one corner of the mouth extending down to the side it means he is capable of treating a person injured in an affray. The fox's skin is worn because foxes catch and eat snakes,

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showing that they, like the wearer of the fox skin, can conquer them. 756.
A person who can cure a snake bite also has a tobacco pouch made of opossum skin, because an opossum can kill and eat a snake like a fox. In early times these men were always preparing young people for war, and, as much of this work had to be done at night, fine eyesight was requisite. The old teacher also taught his pupil how to trail and locate an enemy and he believed he was teaching him how to acquire extraordinary vision at night. That was why the latter used an owl feather.

When the novice fasted it was expected that he would have a 756
dream (or vision). Lewis himself dreamed that a very clear, beauti- 787
ful day had dawned upon him and a number of white birds were coming toward him. When his teacher heard it he said, "That is a very good sign, a clear day and white birds. You will be a good doctor of gunshot wounds."

The only other account of this poskita known to me is the following, 756
from Hawkins: 785

"At the age of from fifteen to seventeen, this ceremony is usually performed. It is called Boos-ke-tau, in like manner as the annual Boosketau of the nation. A youth of the proper age gathers two handsfull of the Sou-watch-cau, a very bitter root, which he eats a whole day; then he steeps the leaves in water and drinks it. In the dusk of the evening, he eats two or three spoonfuls of boiled grits. This is repeated for four days, and during this time he remains in a house. The Sou-watch-cau has the effect of intoxicating and maddening. The fourth day he goes out, but must put on a pair of new moccasins (Stil-la-pica). For twelve moons, he abstains from eating bucks, except old ones, and from turkey cocks, fowls, peas and salt. During this period he must not pick his ears, or scratch his head with his fingers, but use a small stick. For four moons he must have a fire to himself, to cook his food, and a little girl, a virgin, may cook for him; his food is boiled grits. The fifth moon, any person may cook for him, but he must serve himself first, and use one spoon and pan. Every new moon, he drinks for four days the poseau, (button snakeroot,) an emetic, and abstains for these days, from all food, except in the evening, a little boiled grits, (humpetuh hutke.) The twelfth moon, he performs for four days, what he commenced with on the first. The fifth day he comes out of his house, gathers corn cobs, burns them to ashes, and with these, rubs his body all over. At the end of this moon, he sweats under blankets, then goes into water, and this ends the ceremony. This ceremony is sometimes extended to four, six, or eight moons, or even to twelve days only, but the course is the same.

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"During the whole of this ceremony, the physic is administered by the Is-te-puc-cau-chau thluc-co, (great leader,) who in speaking of a youth under initiation, says, 'I am physicing him,' (Boo-se-ji-jite saut li-to-misce-cha,) or 'I am teaching him all that is proper for him to know,' (nauk o-mul-gau e-muc-e-thli-jite saut litomise cha.) The youth, during this initiation, does not touch any one except young persons, who are under a like course with himself, and if he dreams, he drinks the possau." [88]

Those who had gone through with this training were held in high esteem, and there appears to have been no fast for persons not intending to become doctors except at the great annual ceremony. In lore of this kind the Shawnee are believed to be very rich. The following quotation from Adair shows that, in spite of Lewis's claim that this ordeal was peculiar to the Creeks, a similar institution existed among the Chickasaw, except that admission was secured through inheritance:

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"*Ishtohoollo* is the name of all their priestly order, and their pontifical office descends by inheritance to the eldest: those friend-towns, which are firmly confederated in their exercises and plays, never have more than one *Archi-magus* at a time . . . They, who have the least knowledge of Indian affairs, know, that the martial virtues of the savages, obtains them titles of distinction; but yet their old men, who could scarcely correct their transgressing wives, much less go to war, and perform those difficult exercises, that are essentially needful in an active warrior, are often promoted to the pontifical dignity, and have great power over the people, by the pretended sanctity of the office" . . .[89]

It appears that this order of "magi" were the custodians not only of medical secrets but of secrets supposed to be of value in warfare, of the sacred myths, and of various branches of learning.

At the head of the priesthood in each town was the hills-haya or "medicine maker," who communicated the necessary spiritual qualities to the medicines at the annual busk, had general charge of the public health, protected all from ghosts, and so on. While fitness was regarded rather than descent in selecting this high priest, some towns at least preferred to take him from a certain clan, oftenest the clan of the miko. According to the last miko of Chiaha the medicine maker of that town was elected for four years only, at the end of which period he might be reelected or displaced. Speaking of the Chickasaw in the middle of the eighteenth century, Adair says: "the title of *old beloved men*, or *archimagi*, is still hereditary in the *panther*, or *tyger family*." [90] Bartram calls this functionary the "high priest." The Creeks "have," he says, "an ancient high-priest, with juniors in

[88] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 78-79. [89] Ibid., p. 81.
[90] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 81.

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every town and tribe. The high-priest is a person of great power and consequence in the state. He always sits in council, and his advice in affairs of war is of the greatest weight and importance, and he or one of his disciples always attends a war party." "It sometimes happens," he adds, "that the king is war-chief and high-priest, and then his power is very formidable and sometimes dangerous to the liberty of citizens, and he must be a very cunning man if the tomahawk or rifle do not cut him short." [91]

The following statement by the same writer bears out what Jackson Lewis says regarding the insignia of graduates and adds some details.

"The junior priests or students constantly wear the mantle or robe, which is white; and they have a great owl skin cased and stuffed very ingeniously, so well executed, as almost to represent the living bird, having large sparkling glass beads, or buttons, fixed in the head for eyes; this ensign of wisdom and divination, they wear sometimes as a crest on the top of the head, at other times the image fits on the arm, or is borne on the hand. These bachelors are also distinguishable from the other people by their taciturnity, grave and solemn countenance, dignified step, and singing to themselves songs or hymns, in a low sweet voice, as they stroll about the town." [92]

They were, of course, men who had taken some courses in medicine. Regarding the headdress it is instructive to compare those in some of Le Moyne's drawings of the Florida Indians.[92a]

A graduate in medicine, or at least one of a certain degree, could paint a black circle round each eye when he went out at night. This was in imitation of the markings of the raccoon and signified that he could see anything in the dark. If a man had been killed at night a doctor having this power would paint these circles about his eyes and track the murderer right to his own house. He could see his tracks "like a spider's web" and follow them. One of the means for attaining this ability to see in the dark was by using the "star medicine" (kodjodjámbá hiliswa). According to Silas Jefferson, a man with a "skunk's pouch" was considered a great medicine man capable of charming any kind of animal. There was no uniformity, however, in the costumes worn by doctors. Outside of certain generally understood insignia each dressed to suit himself. One doctor is said to have carried big spiders and snakes about in order to scare people.

Frequent scratchings were resorted to by the medicine men that they might keep in health. A graduate in medicine was not allowed to eat catfish, for if he did it was thought that the fish bones would cause weevil to bore into the beans.

[91] Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 34.
[92] Bartram, Travels, p. 502.
[92a] Le Moyne, Jacques, Narrative, Trans., Boston, 1875.

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752 sinning with men, lest the introduction of a young one should either
727 seduce him to folly; or she having committed it with others—or by
783 not observing her appointed time of living apart from the rest, might thereby defile the place, and totally prevent the cure. But what is yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting polluted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to assert either by a double affirmative, or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the last natural day." [99]

•756 In earlier times it is said that the doctors claimed to have intercourse with good or bad spirits, but this personal side of the influences which they controlled appears to have gradually fallen out so that they were later of a general magic nature rather than through personal assisting spirits.

755 The "white day" and the "white smoke" were expressions used in medical formulæ or incantations. It is said that the term "white
[752 day" was specifically applied to the treatment given to a man wounded in war because by "giving him the white day" the doctor
727] was prolonging his life. Two Creeks told General Hitchcock that doctors sometimes prescribed gifts to the tcokofa as a means of cure. This suggests a sanctity connected with that building similar to the sanctity attaching to the Natchez temple.

756 "If the physician fails in his cure," says Swan, "he will ascribe it to the cats or dogs that may be about the house; and they are either killed instantly, or sent out of the neighborhood. If after all the patient dies, the chance is two to one that the doctor is considered as a witch or sorcerer, influenced by the devil, and is pursued, beaten, and sometimes killed by the surviving relations; but if successful in restoring the patient to health, he is paid almost his own price for his services, in skins or cattle."[1] This dangerous side of shamanism is noted by Bossu and other writers and mentioned by some of my informants.[2]

755 Another method of doctoring was by sweat baths. These were
515 generally taken in a small lodge composed of blankets thrown over a framework of slender poles. When prepared to take a sweat bath they heated stones, carried them into the lodge and threw on them water which had first been doctored by being blown into through a cane. Some Indians were taking sweat baths regularly as late as 1914.

756 Doctors sometimes engaged in supernatural fights with one another.
741 Upon one occasion a doctor showed his power by throwing his hand-

[99] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 125.
[1] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[2] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 39.

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kerchief at a tree up which it ran like a squirrel. His opponent then produced a number of centipedes which ran about everywhere but hurt no one. The first then began to try to reach his antagonist in the shapes of various animals, sometimes burrowing under the earth to get at him. Finally, however, the other created a centipede which bit him in the hand and killed him.

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As noted above, Shawnee doctors were in particular esteem among the Creeks, an esteem shared by all the other peoples in contact with them. Even the Texas Alabama know the reputed powers of Shawnee doctors well and told me the following story regarding the accomplishments of one of them.

Some Alabama were once traveling along with this doctor. One night they heard what sounded like the whinnying of horses. The Shawnee told them, however, that it was produced by some Comanche Indians, and when day came they discovered four of these Indians in a tree. By his medicine he caused these persons to fall asleep and then tumble to the ground without waking up. In a river bend near by was a great crowd of Comanche, but the Shawnee rendered himself and his companions invisible, so that the Comanche did not see them, and they passed safely on.

It was claimed that when a doctor died all of the medicine he had taken ran away from him in the forms of animals of various kinds, such as lizards and snakes. He died because or when these creatures became too powerful for him. As long as he kept his power over them they remained in him and were his strength. This is from Creek sources and is confirmed in substance by what is said about witchcraft, to which we will turn presently.

The following from Adair leads one to suppose that the medicine maker and other doctors whose positions were official or semiofficial were forced to undergo a special fast and purification before taking their posts, but I have no other evidence regarding it.

"The Indian priests and prophets are initiated by unction. The Chikkasah some time ago set apart some of their old men of the religious order. They first obliged them to sweat themselves for the space of three days and nights, in a small green hut, made on purpose, at a considerable distance from any dwelling; through a scrupulous fear to contracting pollution by contact, or from the effluvia of polluted people—and a strong desire of secreting their religious mysteries. During that interval, they are allowed to eat nothing but green tobacco, nor to drink any thing except warm water, highly imbittered with the button-snake-root, to cleanse their bodies, and prepare them to serve in their holy, or beloved office, before the divine essence, whom during this preparation they constantly invoke by his essential name, as before described. After which, their priestly

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garments and ornaments, mentioned under a former argument, page 84, are put on, and then bear's oil is poured upon their head."[3]

Certain things were done to ward off misfortune before any actual ill effects had been experienced—an aboriginal application of the ounce of prevention axiom. Hitci pâkpâgi, the "old man's tobacco," was kept on hand as a protection against the souls of the dead, and a great deal was paid for it. Some of the busk medicines were carried home to help guard the family from harm during the succeeding year, and just outside of and above the door of one of my informants was hung the adilõga or mixed medicine used at that time, while the other medicine, the miko hoyanĭdja, was hung just to one side within. This is said to be a common custom with the old-time Indians. At intervals it was thought best to scratch the grown-up men in order to let out bad blood, supposed to have become clogged up inside of them. An Okfuskee Indian told me that he had only recently performed such an operation on 13 men at Nuyaka. These were adults; usually only the young people were scratched.

When a hunting party set out and as soon as it had gotten to the edge of the town, an old man would fall back behind the rest, chew up some sassafras or angelica root, and spit it out toward each of the cardinal points four times. Then he would walk back, singing, and do the same thing four times more. This ceremony was supposed to counteract anything that the spirits of the living might do to injure the hunt by thinking or talking too much about the hunters or by making sport of them. When they came into the settlement on their return they built a fire in a place apart by themselves and sang and danced the stomp dance there all night to prevent the fires they had lighted during the hunt from creating diseases among the families.[4]

The following performance belongs in the same category as the phenomena just considered.

"In the Summer-season of the year 1746 [says Adair], I chanced to see the Indians playing at a house of the former Mississippi-Nachee, on one of their old sacred musical instruments. It pretty much resembled the Negroe-Banger in shape but far exceeded it in dimensions: for it was about five feet long, and a foot wide on the head-part of the board, with eight strings made out of the sinews of a large buffalo. But they were so unskillful in acting the part of the Lyrick, that the *Loache*, or prophet who held the instrument between his feet, and along side of his chin, took one end of the bow, whilst a lusty fellow held the other; by sweating labour they scraped out such harsh jarring sounds, as might have been reasonably ex-

[3] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 122.

[4] Further information on hunting ceremonies will be found on pp. 444–445.

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753 the medicine for it. Then again, what-is-inside-of-me said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it."[20a]

Mooney's Cherokee version of the "Origin of Disease and Medicine"[21] agrees with the above in tracing diseases to the animals, but according to this the animals created diseases in self-defence, and the plant creation volunteered the remedies which were to counteract them. The two stories agree, however, in tracing diseases mainly to the animals. This my Natchez informant also confirmed.

Long as is the list given by Speck's informant it by no means exhausts the alleged sources of disease and it is difficult to see how some of these could have prescribed their own cures. The myth does not perhaps represent the philosophical idea held by all doctors but it is universally true of the Creeks that animals along with many other things were supposed to occasion diseases, that there were cures for each, and that the remedies used often had some kind of resemblance, real or supposed, to the reputed causes. We will take up these causes of disease in order with the information which I have obtained regarding the method of treating each malady. The greater part of this information was obtained from Jackson Lewis, to which I have added a small amount from various other Indians and what could be gleaned from earlier writings.

756 The same evolution which had carried the Creeks to a point where they had schools of medicine, even though rudimentary in their nature, had brought about specialization both in the medicines used and in the practice of the different physicians. I have already spoken of the separate class of kĭlas or diagnosticians and the common or family doctors. Among regular practitioners, however, there was a further specialization. Each doctor did not pretend to cover the whole field of medicine. One would treat for the deer, one for the many snakes, one for the disorders contracted from graves, and so on. It was a common thing to specialize on diseases due to thunder. A doctor might tell what he knew of the disease but refer the patient to another if the method to be employed in treating it had not been given to him.

According to my Natchez informant one who had been struck by lightning and had afterwards recovered could cure diseases of all kinds.

753 The diseases were named from those animals or objects which the symptoms seemed to simulate or recall. Thus the water animals brought diseases of the stomach, bowels, liver, etc., the fish and snail (lăbo), which exude slime like phlegm, caused diseases of the lungs, and so on. Sometimes the medicine contained only one thing, sometimes several. It would vary also with the class of creatures causing the trouble and the particular representative of that class.

[20a] Memoirs Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 145–149.
[21] 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, pp. 250–252.